R. Schaden--SE E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S364 Guarani S364

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## Chapter II
## Physical Aspect

"Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has already also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbyá of western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements, saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the funeral of a Kayová chilái before the grave was opened, the father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of the body.

It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will make black magic against the individual. Men and women not infrequently become so terrified during the process that their sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá, where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation, incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the Guaraní.

In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbyá, 17 men and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural anthropology.

Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some, especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

2: Schaden--149 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/118 cont./
795 oõ dyvý yvýmárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mbore-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm: it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 795 828 177 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

2: Schaden--153 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/119 cont./

774 828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

• [761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 [755] Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go

776 to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 [171] The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

[115] [761] [624]

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
(179) spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of
(955) the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious,
and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the
same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an
official diploma.

175 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any for-
eign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to
health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If
in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic,
the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he
discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
(184) sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the
quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., with-
out there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-
intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the
unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the
manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked
with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either
by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate
medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient him-
self, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sickness
and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism
and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
753 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child
died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explana-
tion. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die,
treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to
die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once; he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he
[821] errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

2: Schaden--173 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/132 cont./

761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
756 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 828 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Ñanderú omanõ (God is the one who gave the origin)," that is, his death is the origin of our death, Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me, "Nanderú kaffinguéra ombó ypý," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there [177 197] is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan; it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world.

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the [163] doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also 782 those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called oñeẽgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [180] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or [176] of the solar god Paí Kuaáry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not neces- 775 sarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of 773 death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

/134 cont./

761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversation touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned,
[114] it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

/156 cont./

538 179 181 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folklore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto" /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 825 [171] In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal) ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- particularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house, [153] [161] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all 825 hours.' -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into 787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at 793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4



The Caingué of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anāy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

### CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingué*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

### ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

**Art.**—Decorative art among the *Caingué* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

**Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played

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594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one 586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is 587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new 581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no • 761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of 765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body 764 the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.